

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05 /099 W  
-----011057 162144Z /42

R 161323Z NOV 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9911  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USMISSION USNATO  
USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUDAPEST 3988

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT HU XG XH  
SUBJECT: HSWP MAINTAINS ITS STANCE ON EUROCOMMUNISM

REF: (A) MOSCOW 16468 (B) BUDAPEST 3928

1. SUMMARY. IN RECENT ARTICLES IN PARTY JOURNALS AND IN  
THEIR SPEECHES AND ACTIONS AT THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRA-  
TIONS IN MOSCOW, THE LEADERS OF THE HSWP HAVE CONTINUED TO  
MAINTAIN THAT NATIONAL PECULIARITIES AND CIRCUMSTANCES MUST  
BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN BUILDING SOCIALISM.  
THEY ALSO INSIST THAT, NEVERTHELESS, INDIVIDUAL  
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PARTIES CANNOT CONTRADICT THE JOINT INTERESTS OF THE WORKING  
CLASS AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, A STAND WELCOMED BY THE USSR.  
THEY CONDEMN VIGOROUSLY ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SOVIETISM AND  
POSIT A COMMON GROUND ON WHICH ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES  
CAN AGREE. END SUMMARY.

2. HSWP FIRST SECRETARY KADAR GAVE TWO SPEECHES IN

THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION. PRIME MINISTER LAZAR GAVE ONE AND PRESIDENT LOSONCZI ALSO SPOKE IN BUDAPEST ON NOV 5. FOR THE MOST PART, THEIR SPEECHES WERE DEVOTED TO PARAISING SOVIET ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND PROCLAIMING SOVIET-HUNGARIAN SOLIDARITY (SEE REF (B)). HOWEVER, THE WAY EACH OF THE LEADERS TREATED THE ISSUE OF EUROCOMMUNISM WAS SIGNIFICANT.

3. NEITHER IN HIS SPEECH AT THE JUBILEE MEETING IN THE KREMLIN NOR IN HIS SPEECH IN KIEV DID JANOS KADAR USE THE TERM PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. IN THE KREMLIN, HE REFERRED TO RELATIONS BETWEEN HUNGARIAN AND SOVIET PARTIES, PEOPLES, AND COUNTRIES AS INTERNATIONALIST AND FRATERNAL. OTHERWISE IN BOTH KIEV AND MOSCOW HE AVOIDED ANY ALLUSION TO THE EUROCOMMUNISM ISSUE. AT SAME TIME, SPANISH COMMUNIST LEADER CARILLO WAS QUOTED IN INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE AS SAYING THAT KADAR WAS THE ONLY EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADER WHO WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO WELCOME HIM TO MOSCOW. KADAR IS REPORTED TO HAVE TOLD CARILLO HE WAS GLAD TO SEE HIM AND THOUGHT IT WAS A GOOD THING HE (CARILLO) WENT TO MOSCOW.

4. PRIME MINISTER LAZAR, SPEAKING IN YAROSLAV, SAID THAT NO ONE COULD BE INTERNATIONALIST WHO IS CONFIDENTIAL

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AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND WHO REACTS OUT OF CONSIDERATIONS THE RICH EXPERIENCES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES. HE SAID THOSE PARTIES SHOULD REGULARLY EXCHANGE THEIR EXPERIENCE ON THE BASIS OF INDEPENDENCE AND EQUAL RIGHTS. HE CITED THE CLOSE ALLIANCE AND COOPERATION OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (HSWP) AND THE CPSU BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXIS-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM BUT ALSO BASED ON THE IDENTITY OF THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. HE THUS CLEARLY ALLUDED TO THE HUNGARIAN DEFINITION OF PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM WHICH IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE RECOGNITION OF VALID NATIONAL INTERESTS IN BUILDING SOCIALISM.

5. SPEAKING IN BUDAPEST, PRESIDENT PAL LOSONCZI WAS MOST ASSERTIVE OF THE THREE IN DISCUSSING NATIONAL FACTORS. HE SAID HUNGARIANS REGARD THE ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE OF SOVIET UNION AS A VALUABLE HERITAGE WHICH IT IS A DUTY TO APPLY IN A MARXIST-LENINIST WAY, THAT IS, AN INDEPENDENT AND CREATIVE WAY. HSWP TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION NATIONAL PECULIARITIES AND THE GIVEN CONCRETE SITUATION AVOIDING PITFALLS OF MECHANICAL IMITATION. EVERY PARTY MUST PROCEED FROM

THE POSITION OF ITS OWN WORKING CLASS, HE STRESSED, BUT IT IS ALSO A COMPULSORY RULE THAT THE POLICY OF THE INDIVIDUAL PARTIES CANNOT CONTRADICT THE JOINT INTEREST OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

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PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05 /099 W  
-----079349 220649Z /13/66

R 161323Z NOV 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9912

INFO: RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 1982

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION USNATO

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUDAPEST 3988

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT IN PARA 7 CORRECTED)

6. EARLIER, IN OCTOBER ISSUE OF TARSADALMI SZENDE, FONMIN PUJA GAVE A DEFINITION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, WHICH, WHILE NOT NEW FOR HSWP, HELPS EXPLAIN PRIME MINISTER LAZAR'S USE OF THE TERM AND CONFIRMS THE HSWP'S CURRENT POSITION. HE WROTE: PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM "INVOLVES THE HARMONIZATION OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS, MUTUAL SUPPORT, SHAPING OF THE JOINT STANCE AND ACTION ON THE BASIS OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES' INDEPENDENCE, EQUALITY, AND VOLUNTARY COLLABORATION OVER THE MOST IMPORTANT

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POLITICAL QUESTIONS, THE STUDY OF THE JOINT EXPERIENCES OF THE MOVEMENT AND ENRICHMENT WITH THE PARTIES' OWN FIGHTING EXPERIENCE; IT INVOLVES JOINT ENDEAVORS FOR THE CONSISTENT STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-MARXIST VIEWS.

7. ALSO, DURING MONTH OF OCTOBER TWO OTHER INTERESTING AND RELEVANT ARTICLES APPEARED IN HUNGARY RELATED TO EUROCOMMUNISM QUESTION: AN ESSAY IN PART ELET BY A LEADING PARTY THEORETICIAN TAMAS PALOS AND AN EDITORIAL IN NEPSZABADSAG BY FOREIGN POLICY EDITOR FERENC VARNAI. BOTH STRONGLY REJECT ANTI-SOVIETISM. PALOS ALSO CONDEMNED THOSE IN WEST WHO TRIED TO SEPARATE HUNGARY FROM ITS ALLIES BY POSITING A SEPARATE HUNGARIAN MODEL FOR SOCIALISM. THIS HE SAID TWISTS AND DISTORTS THE FOUNDATIONS OF HUNGARIAN POLICY. OPPOSITION TO THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT THE PROPER CRITERIA OF AN INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST PARTY PALOS ASSERTED. QUOTING STATEMENTS OF THE 23RD, 24TH, AND 25TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU, HE CLAIMED CPSU IS OPPOSED TO ANY FORM OF HEGEMONY AND ADVOCATES TRULY INTERNATIONALIST AND EQUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL PARTIES. PALOS DECLARED COMMUNIST PARTIES SEEKING THE SAME GOAL IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

8. ON OCT 26, VARNAI AS WELL TOOK UP THEME OF WEST TRYING TO DIVIDE COMMUNIST PARTIES. HE TOO ASSERTED THAT "PARTIES LIVING UNDER DIFFERENT CONDITIONS AND DETERMINING THEIR STRATEGIES AND TACTICS INDEPENDENTLY MAY REACH THE SAME GOAL THROUGH DIFFERENT METHODS." HE ADDED, "THE APPLICATION IN A CREATIVE MANNER OF LAWS OF GENERAL VALIDITY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND GIVING CONSIDERATION TO NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS ARE EQUALLY COMPULSORY." WHAT THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE

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CREATED SHOULD BE ESTEEMED AND RESPECTED BUT NOT NECESSARILY COPIED, VARNAI CONCLUDED. PROBABLY AS AN INEXPENSIVE SOP TO THE SOVIETS, BOTH VARNAI AND PALOS MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS ARE ANTI-SOVIET SLANDERERS AND LIKE THE WEST, DANGEROUS ADVOCATES OF TACTICS DESIGNED TO SPLIT THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THUS UNLIKE THE EUROCOMMUNISTS, BEYOND THE PALE.

9. YUGOSLAV CHARGE TOLD DCM THAT, ACCORDING TO HIS CONTACTS IN HSWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, GYENES' REPORT AT RECENT PLENUM ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION PROMPTED A DEBATE ON EUROCOMMUNISM. YUGOSLAV SOURCE SUMMARIZED HUNGARIAN PARTY'S POSITION AT END OF DEBATE AS BALANCE BETWEEN NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY. INCLUDE IN THIS POSITION IS FULL SUPPORT FOR BERLINGUER AND MARKED CRITICISM OF CARILLO BECAUSE OF THE LATTER'S PUBLIC RPT PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE USSR. HSWP REPORTEDLY HAS CONCLUDED THAT CARILLO IS ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH A POWER CENTER DISTINCT FROM USSR, THAT THIS IS WRONG, AND THAT, THEREFORE, USSR SHOULD BE SUPPORTED IN ANY CONFRONTATION WITH CARILLO. AT SAME TIME, HSWP FERVENTLY HOPES TO AVOID CONFRONTATION AND IS WILLING TO WORK TOWARD THIS GOAL.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BUDAPEST 3988

10. COMMENT. NEITHER KADAR NOR ANY OTHER SPEAKERS

AND WRITERS MENTIONED ABOVE REFERRED TO ANY UNIQUE EXPERIENCE OF SOVIET UNION IN BUILDING SOCIALISM, THOUGH REF (A) POINTS OUT SUSLOV HAS BEEN FOCUSING ON UNIQUENESS OF GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AS MEANS OF REFUTING EUROCOMMUNISTS. IN FACT, IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT WHEN LOSONCZI, LAZAR AND PUJA REFER TO INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY OR EXPERIENCE, THEY RELATE THIS TO ALL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES NOT JUST THE CPSU. THE HUNGARIAN ASSERTION OF A SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IS EVIDENT EVERYWHERE BUT IN KADAR'S SPEECHES WHERE  
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ABSENCE OF ANY MENTION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, EVEN AS DEFINED BY HSWP, SPEAKS ALMOST AS ELOQUENTLY. THIS ASSERTION IS ALSO CONFIRMED BY YUGOSLAV CHARGE'S REPORT OF HSWP CC PLENUM.

11. YET, HUNGARIAN, WHILE NOT MAINTAINING IDENTICAL POSITION WITH SOVIETS, ARE FAR FROM EUROCOMMUNISTS AND ARE CHARY OF GETTING TOO IDENTIFIED WITH WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. THEY ARE SYMPATHETIC TOWARDS BERLINGUER BUT DISTURBED BY THE WAVES CARILLO IS MAKING. CONSEQUENTLY THEY ATTACK WESTERN MEDIA WHEN THEY IDENTIFY HUNGARY WITH WESTERN CP'S OF SPEAK OF A POSSIBLE HUNGARIAN MODEL OF SOCIALISM HUNGARIANS WISH TO AVOID POLARIZATION OF FACTIONS WITHIN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WHICH CAN ONLY WORK TO THEIR DISADVANTAGE. THEY THEREFORE TRY TO USE THEIR LIMITED INFLUENCE TO BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER.

12. REFERENCES BY BOTH LAZAR AND PUJA TO CONTINUED NEED AND VALUE FOR ALL PARTIES TO EXCHANGE EXPERIENCES IS INDICATIVE OF CONTINUED HSWP DESIRE TO ACT AS MEDIATOR OR CONCILIATOR. RELATED TO THIS, EMBASSY BELIEVES, WES ENRICO BERLINGUER'S STOPOVER IN BUDAPEST ON HIS RETURN FROM MOSCOW TO ROME. WHILE IT OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES WITH SOVIETS OR EVEN PAPER OVER THEIR DISPUTE, HUNGARIAN ASSERTION OF COMMON GOALS ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES WISH TO ACHIEVE THROUGH VARYING STRATEGIES AND TACTICS SEEMS TO BE RECOMMENDED HSWP PRESCRIPTION FOR SQUARING THE CIRCLE.  
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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
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